

Message Text

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QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14978

E.O. 1165 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET - FRENCH DECLARATION: AN INITIAL ANALYSIS

1. SUMMARY. JUDGING FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE JOINT FRENCH-
SOVIET DECLARATION, THE GISCARD VISIT TO MOSCOW HAS NOT RESULTED
IN ANY SURPRRISES - WHICH TENDS TO CONFIRM WHAT SAUVAGNARGUES
TOLD AMBASSADOR STOESSEL AT THE KREMLIN RECPTION OCTOBER 17
(SEPTEL). IT DOES APPEAR THAT THE FRENCH WERE ABLE TO PUSH THE
SOVIETS INTO SOME SLIGHT MOVEMENT ON BASKET III IMPLEMENTATION,
THOUGH THE PROOF OF EVEN THIS AGREEMENT STILL LIES IN FURTHER
IMPLEMENTATION. THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY EXERTED COUNTERPRESSURE ON
DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, BUT THE FRENCH GAVE LITTLE GROUND,
ALTHOUGH THEY MAY HAVE AGREED TO SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING
LANGUAGE ON NONPROLIFERATION. GISCARD IN HIS LUNCHEON SPEECH
OCTOBER 17 AGAIN RETURNED TO HUMANITAIRIAN QUESTIONS, THIS TIME
WITHOUT A REBUTTAL ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS FROM THE SOVIET
SPEAKER (PODGORNY); THOUGH PODGORNY IN REPLY NEEDLED THE FRENCH
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(AND NATO) ON MBFR BY CALLING FOR "NEW INITIATIVES" TO REDUCE THE

MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE TEXT OF THE JOINT FRENCH-SOVIET "DECLARATION" FROM THE GISCARD VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION OCTOBER 14-18 IS CARRIED IN FULL IN PRAVDA OCTOBER 18. THE COMMUNIQUE (WHICH IS NOT A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT) IN THAT SAME ISSUE NOTES THAT THREE OTHER AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED OCTOBER 17: "ON SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF CIVIL AVIATION AND AVIATION INDUSTRY"; "ON COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF TOURISM"; AND "ON COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF ENERGY."

3. WE NOTE THE FOLLOWING POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE JOINT DECLARATION.

A. CSCE - BOTH IN THE PREAMBLE AND IN ARTICLE I THE FRENCH WERE ABLE TO GAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO REPEATED REFERENCES TO "FULL SIGNIFICANCE", "ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES", IMPLEMENTATION IN "ALL AREAS", OF "ALL OF THE PROVISIONS" OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT IN AN APPARENT SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO REBUT MOSCOW'S USUAL EMPHASIS OF THE BASKET I PRINCIPLES. ALSO, OBLIGATORY BOWS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QA ARE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE I, WHICH DEALS ONLY WITH CSCE. THE FRENCH THUS AGAIN GAINED AT LEAST IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FROM THE SOVIETS THAT THE RESULTS OF CSCE SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO BERLIN. IN ARTICLE III THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO "PROVIDE FOR A SINGIFICANT INCREASE IN THE SCOPE AND QUALITY OF EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION ...IN THE AREA OF ART, EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE", AND EXPRESS READINESS TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF A "CULTURE AGREEMENT" TO THESE ENDS. THE SIDES WILL FURTHER "SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE WAYS TO CREATE, IN THE USSR AND FRANCE RESPECTIVELY, CONDITIONS FOR WORK AND FOR RESIDENCE WHICH TO THE GREATEST DEGREE PROMOTE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION BY SOVIET AND FRENCH SPECIALISTS IN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC2TECHNOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATON".

B. DISARMAMENT. IN THE PREAMBLE REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE "MATERIALIZATION OF DETENTE", MOSCOW'S NEW SHORTHAND FOR DISARMAMENT, BUT THAT PHRASE IS FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY ANOTHER EXPRESSING WHAT WE ASSUME IS THE FRENCH VIEW THAT THE "MATERILIZATION" SHOULD BE ACHIEVED "ESPECIALLY BY MEANS OF" JOINT EFFORTS TO SOLVE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF AT LEAST IMPLICITY A POLITICAL

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NATURE. SUCH DANCING BACK AND FORTH ON DISARMAMENT IS EVIDENT ELSEWHERE IN THE DECLARATION. THE SOVIETS GAINED AGREEMENT TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT "EMPHASIZING THE INTEREST" OF THE TWO IN "EFFORTS AIMED AT REDUCING MILITARY CONFRONTATION" - AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO MBFR 2 BUT THIS IS FOLLOWED BY THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT SUCH MEASURES SHOULD NOT AFFECT EITHER THE SECURITY OR THE "INDEPENDENCE" OF THE STATES - THUS ASSUAGING FRENCH CONCERNS ON THE LATTER ASPECT. THE DECLARATION REPORTS THAT "AN EXCHANGE

OF OPINIONS" TOOK PLACE ON THE SOVIET EXOTIC WEAPONS PROPOSAL, AND THAT THE FRENCH WILL "CONTINUE WITH INTEREST" THEIR EXAMINATION OF THE PROPOSAL. THE SOVIETS MAY NOT EVEN HAVE TRIED TO CONVINCE THE FRENCH TO AGREE TO LANGUAGE ON THE SOVIET COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN PROPOSAL, BUT IN ANY CASE WE SEE NO REFERENCE TO IT.

C. OTHER ISSUES. ON THE MIDDLE EAST THERE IS NO NEW DEPARTURE IN THE DECLARATION'S LANGUAGE. ON CYPRUS, THE USUAL SOVIET DEMAND FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS "FROM THE ISLAND" IS TONED DOWN TO REMOVAL "FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS", THUS EXCLUDING BRITISH BASES.

D. NPT. THE SOVIETS WERE OF COURSE UNABLE TO GAIN FRENCH AGREEMENT TO ANY REFERENCE APPROVING THE NPT AS SUCH, BUT IT DOES SEEM TO US THAT THE DECLARATION'S LANGUAGE ON THE SUBJECT OF NON-PROLIFERATION IS UNUSUALLY FORTHOMING FROM THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW. WE WILL BE TALKING TO OUR FRENCH COLLEAGUES HERE IN AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN FURTHER BACKGROUND ON THIS AND/OR OTHER ASPECTS OF THE VISIT.

4. THE GISCARD AND PODGORNYY SPEECHES AT THE LUNCH OCTOBER 17, AS CARRIED IN PRAVDA, EACH CONTAIN ONE POINT OF INTEREST. GISCARD AGAIN EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BASKET III, NOTING THAT "WITH THE CHANGE IN SCOPE COMES A CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF SOVIET-FRENCH COOPERATION. IT OBLIGATES US TO TREAT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT, EASE BY MUTUAL EFFORT THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF OUR BUSINESS PEOPLE AND OUR SCIENTISTS, ENCOURAGE THE STUDY OF RUSSIAN IN FRANCE AND THE STUDY OF FRENCH IN THE SOVIET UNION, DEVELOPE CONTACTS BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES, INTELLECTUALS, AND TOURISTS".

5. PODGORNYY IN HIS REPLY DID NOT MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO A
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CONTINUING IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, UNLIKE BREZHNEV TWO DAYS EARLIER. HE DID, HOWEVER, AGAIN NEEDLE THE FRENCH (AND NATO AS WELL) ON MBFR: "FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD ENSURING RELIABLE SECURITY (IN EUROPE) REQUIRES NEW INITIATIVES BENEFITTING DETENTE, INCLUDING THOSE AIMED AT REDUCING THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION".
STOESSEL UNQTE KISSINGER

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